

582 brothers and sisters, real and classificatory, and the breaking
835 of this taboo is the very worse crime of the society. The
taboo applies just as strongly to sexual intercourse as to
marriage. Breaking the sex taboo between cross-cousins
and between parents and children, while considered a great
social crime, is not quite so bad as breaking the brother-
sister taboo. In the past the penalty for breaking any of
[684] the incest taboos was death; the guilty individuals were
killed by members of their own clan. No such breach
occurred during my visit, and since killing is now forbidden
by the Mandated Government, it is difficult to say what
the punishment would be to-day. There are no tales of any
incestuous marriages, but tales of incestuous intercourse
with the punishment of the offenders are told. Since we
know only about the few who have been caught, it is diffi-
cult to estimate even generally how frequently the taboo
is broken. But it is quite evident that most of the natives
have a horror of incest. Even a dream of it makes them
thoroughly ashamed.

605 The *korup* relationship between cross-cousins of opposite
sex (see term 14) is the one surrounded with the most ritual
prohibitions. Personal names must never be mentioned, and
instead the term *korup* is used when one member of the
relationship wishes to refer to the other. Between children
the term the diminutive, *koko*, is used. The two *korup*
relatives do not go near each other. If it would be absolutely
necessary that they speak, it would be done briefly, at a
distance of about twenty-five feet. Food is exchanged
[431] between them, but always through the medium of a third
person.

582 A man's preferred mate is this same *korup*'s daughter,
whom he calls by the term *-tumbo* (wife, see term 11), whether
606 he marries her or not. If he marries another woman who
does not stand in the relationship of a cross-cousin's daughter,
her mother becomes *korup* to him. Thus mother-in-law is

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

53

always a taboo relationship to a man. Whether this taboo relationship is fundamentally a cross-cousin or a mother-in-law one is at present a matter of conjecture.¹

Between cross-cousins of the same sex (*ripunga* and *ripun-gaina*, see terms 18 and 19) there is friendliness, cordiality, and affection. The link connecting them is the very close and affectionate mother's brother or father's sister, and there is no possibility of sex conflict, because they are of the same sex.

A mutually helpful and affectionate relationship exists between parents and children. An infant or child is cared for by the older member, and in a similar way an old, feeble member is dependent upon the younger one of the relationship.

There is also a friendly helpful and fond relationship between brothers and between sisters. A brother and sister relationship is marked by friendliness and helpfulness, but at the same time there is a semi-avoidance to insure an absence of sexual relations. Sexual play between them before puberty is prohibited, and while there is a frequent exchange of gifts and services in adult life, there are no intimacies. Conversation is limited to a minimum.

The term mother is used for the mother's sister and father for the father's brother, and a person calls his mother's, sister's, and father's brother's children by the term brother and sister (see terms 1, 2, 3, 4). Should a native's own mother be dead, his mother's sister takes her place. Similarly, if an old woman's own children are dead, her sister's children will take care of her. If a native's mother and mother's sisters are all alive, some of his duties towards the latter will remain latent. But other duties, such as assistance in garden work, will be carried out.

For the mother's brother and father's sister new terms

¹ The native word for taboo when applied to objects (and not to people) is *korul*. So whether *korup* is a kinship term in the same sense that "mother" is, or whether it is simply a word for taboo, is also uncertain.

INFANCY

77 852
533

the child, but talks merely because he is considered a good orator.

The next ritual feast for the infant will be upon the appearance of his first tooth. For little Ongus, sometimes known as Ongus the second, so as not to confuse him with big Ongus, the chief, whose name he carries, a feast is held to mark this occasion. The host is Muhi, the baby's maternal grandmother's brother, a classificatory grandfather (*yaya*). He contributes the pig, the bananas, the tobacco, and the betel-nut. Taro is contributed by the mother of the child, and Brakko, Molung, and Pulong, all women of the opposite moiety from that of the infant, and of the same clan as his father. The latter, Peiwas, contributes bananas. 852

The affair is a rather small one, with only about twenty men and boys present. They are gathered in the compound, which was formerly the burial-ground for the hamlet of Panat, which has so shrunk in size that it now uses the cemetery of the next hamlet, Penguli, for burials. But the feasts of Panat are always held on its former burial-ground. Muhi is the host, and it is he who distributes the tobacco and betel-nut, real luxuries to the men. It is Ongas, the infant's father's mother's brother's son, who makes a short speech when they have almost finished eating. "We have come here because Ongus the second has a tooth. It is a very small feast, and there is not much food. Now we have finished." Only the men eat at this feast, the women, as usual, preparing the taro. I was told that if the child cutting its first tooth is female, the women, and not the men, would eat. As no female infant in my neighbourhood happened to cut her first tooth during my visit on the island, I was unable to observe the procedure. [276] [606]

Another ritual feast which may be held before the first tooth is cut, or a year or two after the teething stage, is that given for the possible mates of the child. The one I witnessed 852